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The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.

The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The delta-like shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent⁵ with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building-- the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called go-brados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

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Vila Recôncavo

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

[City of Salvador]

THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area⁹ with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,¹⁰ and to a con-

⁹ Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

¹⁰ The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

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of a *seita* in the city of Cachoeira across the bay, the most purely Gêge in the region. Of the Congo-Angola centers, the one reputed to be most influenced by Congo tradition is Bata Folha; that most influenced by Angola tradition, the *seita* of Maria Nenen. Of the *caboclo* centers, the more noted are perhaps those of the wealthy and widely feared *pae de santo* Jubiabá in Cruz do Cosme, of *mãe de santo* Sabina in Quintas da Barra, and of "Pae Joazinha," or João da Pedra Preta (John-of-the Black-Rock), in Gomea.

Out of the Afro-Brazilian Congress which met at Bahia in January, 1937, came a memorial addressed to the governor of the state asking for official recognition of the *candomblé* as a religious sect with rights and privileges equal, under the Brazilian constitution, to those of all other forms of religious expression. In order to act more effectively in demanding and securing these rights and in combating the sorcery and quackery which are perhaps the principal obstacles in the way of their attainment, an attempt was made, sponsored by the young mulatto journalist, Edison Carneiro, to organize all Bahian *seitas* into one body. The result was an organization known as the União das Seitas Afro-brasileiras da Bahia with a governing body, consisting of one representative from each *seita*, charged with the special responsibility of eliminating unorthodox practices.⁴

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The *seitas* are located in sections of the city where the residents are almost exclusively blacks and dark mulattoes or in the outlying regions where dwellings are few. They number perhaps between a hundred and a hundred and fifty. Some say there are two to three hundred, but this estimate

⁴At the first session animosity between the more orthodox centers and the *caboclo seitas* was so great that any substantial agreement appeared to be quite difficult.

THE CANDÓMBLE

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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.¹

Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";² sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabeceiras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

¹ Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

² See below, p. 286.

NEGROES IN BRAZIL

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forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

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To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

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The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
 565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
 [439] by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
 both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
 driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
 through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the win-
 dows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a
 local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people
 themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron
 saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival
 is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the
 educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebra-
 tion begins on the third Saturday in January and continues
 through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of
 the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business
 houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others
 take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
 [368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
 [443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
 [265] os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
 [257] *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
 such wares as *cocada*,¹ cakes, and other confections, mangoes,
 peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.² In the *adro*, or open space, in

¹ *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

² *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

APPENDIXES

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little Bahiana"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *abertm*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efô*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

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At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the *terno*.

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[SALVADOR]

/60 cont./

* 563 police force and in politics. A school for the training of officers
708 destined for this corps was recently created, in order to improve
701 its capacity as a reserve for the army. Among the present students
[874] there are a few with dark skin. One may find two explanations
for this: either a preliminary selection at the time of the exami-
nations for admission, when it may happen that the young candidates
with /61/ dark skin do not, for various reasons, satisfy the re-
quired conditions, or because the career of officer now has more
[555] prestige and consequently attracts a larger number of Whites. Up
to the present time the career of military-police officer repre-
sented one of the ways of social ascent for young colored men.
Recently, under indictments of various kinds, a heavily pigmented
Black who had reached the rank of captain was expelled from the
corps. Not long ago, in a group of 27 young officers whose photo-
graphs were displayed in a commercial establishment, eight morenos
and light mulattoes and one dark mulatto could be seen. But it
is also certain that the officers corps at present, though mixed, is
composed of Whites in the majority. Moreover, in the course of
recent years the officers chosen by the general command to be
integrated in the military department of the government of the
State have almost without exception been Whites or "whitened":
an aide-de-camp of this high authority must be a representative
person, in order to make a "good impression" on individuals who
come to the government Palace or on those who are passing through
Bahia and on whom this officer must pay courtesy visits. A justi-
fication that everyone concedes.

* 563 Among the officers of two local corps of civil character, but
701 having a military organization and insignia, the civil guard and
• 368 corps of firemen, the majority is dark. The Whites or "whitened"
are in the minority in the second of these groups. This proportion
corresponds to the lesser prestige that these two organizations en-
joy, both, however, greatly appreciated for the services that they
render to the community.